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K E Y
TO THE
BUSINESS
OF THE
PRESENT S-----N:

VIZ.

- I. His H-----'s Speech to his Life-Guard
of SWITZERS, at their general Rendevouz
in D -----g-S-----t.
- II. Certain Important Hints deliver'd to an
Assembly of INDEPENDENTS,
AT THE
FOUNTAIN-Tavern, in the STRAND.

*There is a Tide in the Affairs of Men,
Which, taken at the Flood, leads on to Fortune;
Omitted, all the Voyage of their Life
Is bound in Shallows and in Miseries.
On such a full Sea are we NOW afloat,
And we must take the Current while it serves,
Or lose our Ventures.*

SHAKESPEARE.

----- The Gods
*Grow angry with your Patience: 'Tis their Care
And must be YOURS that Guilty Men escape not.*

JOHNSON.

Justice hath laid her Sword within YOUR Reach.

DAVENANT.

L O N D O N :

Printed for T. COOPER, at the Globe in Paternoster-Row.

MDCCLXII.

THE
BUSINESS

OF THE
CITY OF NEW YORK

AND
THE
COUNTY OF NEW YORK

IN
THE
MATTER OF
THE
Estate of
JAMES
M. SMITH

Decedent
vs.
The
Executors
of his
Last Will
and Testament

JOHN
SMITH
Executors

IN SENATE

January 10, 1881

H I S
H---'s SPEECH
T O H I S
L I F E - G U A R D .

GENTLEMEN,

[*Here followed a little Pause, in which Interval all present made their best Bows thrice over.*]



IN critical Times Countenance is Strength: The Honour, therefore, that you have done me To-night, deserves my sincerest and heartiest Acknowledgments. I have, 'tis true, seen a more numerous Appearance on a little Occasion, when the Sky was clearer over Head: But I do not wonder, that Summer-Birds take their Leave when they apprehend Winter to be at Hand.--- History, if I remember right, is full of Instances of the like Nature: But, perhaps, no History can shew me an Instance of a M---r, believed to

be in his Wane, furrounded as I have the Happiness to be at present.

Before, I looked upon you as my Followers, but I now embrace you as my Friends : Nor, when I consider attentively who and what you are that stay, can I regret those I have lost : Those had long the Spirit of Opposition in them, before it broke out ; and when they received their Charge, were more inclined to dispute than obey. But you I know, by Experience, to be good Men and true ; such as have stuck at nothing to do your Duty ; such as have but one Mind, one Will, one Voice, and all at my Devotion.

[*Here they all bowed down to the Ground as before.*]

Notwithstanding the Fury of the Populace, then, the Spleen of Libellers, the Clamours of Petitioners, or the Speeches of self-sufficient Orators, with such a Corps as you for my Guard, I esteem myself still safe, still in a Condition to defeat their joint Menaces, and give the Law both to S—e and People.

'Tis true, presuming rather too much on the All-sufficiency of M—y, I have suffered the Chariot of Power to be drove a little too near the Precipice, and a *Hair-Breadth-'Scape* bestows no great Credit on a Politician : For this I take Shame to myself ; but if I calculate rightly, and even my Enemies allow that no Body is more in the Secret of Numbers than I, the Balance still leans in our Favour ;
and

and should not I have the Address to win over one single Convert, we are of ourselves able to carry any Point we please ; I mean, if, like the *Macedonian Phalanx* of old, we are all governed by the same Motion.

Recollect, Gentlemen, that a fundamental Question relating to the H——r S———n, which we have all so much Reason to honour, was carried but by one single Vote : If, therefore, we have a M——ty, however minute and inconsiderable in the Comparison, the Conclusion is as strong in our Favour, and a Law as much a Law, if carried by four, as by four hundred.

All the Disadvantage we have to apprehend then from the present Crisis is this ; The thinner the Garrison the severer the Duty : No Man must therefore hope to be absent on Furlow ; Pleasure for a while must not be thought of ; Love and Wine must be forgot ; even Sickness itself must scarce be indulged. — It is said, as I am informed, in Scripture, That, *Ye know not what a Day or an Hour may bring forth.* Let that Sentence be ever before your Eyes, and give your Attendance accordingly !

For myself, you may depend upon it, I shall set you the Example : Notwithstanding I might plead the Privilege of Age, Infirmary, and a thousand different Avocations in my Excuse, you will see me take my Seat among the Foremost, you will see me hold it to the last. My own Eye, and my own Ear, will be Witness

ness to every Man's Behaviour, and as at the Beginning, so at the End of the *****, my own Hand shall proportion every Man's Reward.

My Enemies, I know, flatter themselves with other Auguries and Divinations, and, over their Cups, have already disposed of my Fate : But so they have done for many a Season past, and have as constantly been disappointed ; all Bluster in the Beginning, and all Smoke in the End ! — May the filling a State-Sieve be ever their Destiny both here and hereafter !

[In this Place a Handful of those nearest the Spokesman brayed out Amen !]

Formidable, I must acknowledge, they are ; exasperate they cannot fail to be ; Pretences for Clamour abound rather more than ever ; Cabals and Consultations I know they have had, and concerted Schemes are already formed to hurry on the Catastrophe of their Plot with all possible Precipitation : Ways and Means have even been found out to solder up for a while their late Disunion ; and both Parties agree to draw in the same Yoke,

[This Paragraph seemed to have a strange Effect on the Faces of the Audience.]

You see, Gentlemen, I am very little apprehensive of your being terrified with this Representation of the Strength, Artifice, and Resolution of our Adversaries : If I could not depend upon your Zeal and Fidelity, I am persuaded your Experience and Fore-Thought would

would be Security for your Steadiness and Perseverance. You have already some Reason to know that these Malignants are but ill cemented together; that they have a mutual Jealousy of each other; and that, when they make a desperate Push, nothing is more easy than to call off their Leaders, and leave the Herd to shift for itself.—Or, if this Expedient, so frequently practised with Success, should, at last, deceive me; if they should indeed grow troublesome, and, with a high Hand, carry all before them, don't imagine that we are without Resource. Though the P——e has of late Years been seldom brought into Play, 'tis an Engine of great Force, and, in able Hands, is almost as capable as ever of doing great Execution. Remember we are fixed on that Rock of Power, and that it is pre-determined we shall stand or fall together. To d—ff—v—, may be as dreadful a Sound to a P——t, as to i—p—ch to a M——r; and when they are apprized of their own Danger, they may grow more cautious in carrying Things to Extremities with us.

I would not have Gentlemen think I speak this from a Consciousness that we are likely to be hard drove; or, at least, that I myself in particular have Reason to believe, that the Services of my Friends are now more than commonly necessary for my Preservation. No; it is for the Sake of my Friends, I enlarge thus much on the Points before us; for as to myself

myself, I am already secure from the Power of my Enemies, though obliged to endure their Invectives: And the frequent Attempts they have made to introduce a P—ce-B—ll, must convince you, that you are but Grafts on my Stock, and that if I am removed, your Places will know you no more.

In deserting me, then, you would only desert your own Interest; for, though shook, I am not like to fall; and the first that turns his Back shall find I have still both Spirit to resent, and Power to punish. What I declare now is but agreeable to my former Practice, which you may all remember was ever to distribute the Favours of the C— among such whose Attachment was without Reserve, and to withdraw them the very Moment they had the Presumption to affect Independency, or associate with my declared Enemies.—You will remember likewise, that, in following this Maxim, I spared no Man for his Importance, or Abilities, or Services: The Greatest I made Examples to the Least; and when charged with this Conduct as a Crime, avow'd it, defended it publicly, and took Occasion from thence to let the whole World know what was the Tenure of Preferment in G— B—.

Gentlemen will forgive me, I hope, for speaking so much in the first Person: Both what I have said, and what I have done, is in Behalf of one mightier than I, and in whom I may consistently say, I live, and move, and hold

hold my Being.—Yes, though cursed in the City, though baited in the H——, though obnoxious from one End of the Kingdom to the other, with him I have both the Honour and Happiness to find a Sanctuary from my Persecutors, to have the Doors shut 'on their Abuses, to have Complaints interpreted into Merits, and Threats against me, understood to be levelled beyond me; to be heard with Grace, and, as the grand Consequence of all, in spite of Envy and Opposition, to be continued in Power.

In Confidence of which, Gentlemen, I look upon myself as authorised to speak in the Style I have used, and to tell you again, that Obedience is the only Pledge of all you possess, and all you hope for; and that, whether you conform to this Condition or no, I shall not be destitute of Support, nor can be without Friends to execute what you refuse.

[During all this Part of the Discourse, scarce one of the Company had Courage enough to lift up his Eyes.]

Whatever Sneerers may say with respect to my Conduct in F——gn A——rs, I have not slumbered with the Rudder in my Hand at home: No; I am prepared for all Events, and am so every way fortified, that I think I may set Fortune herself at Defiance.

You are free, therefore, to commence P——ts if you please, and accept of empty, precarious Popularity for your Reward; or to join Hands

with me in the Fatigue, and share with me in the Harvest of G——nt.

There are those, I know, who give out, in order to damp your Zeal, that even the Harvest I refer to is at an End: That a seven Years Dearth is on the Point of succeeding to so many Times seven of Abundance: And that the Monster-Corruption, they talk of, will in the End devour his Feeder.——But alas! none but Novices can vent such Stuff in earnest, and none but Novices can believe it. 'Tis true, we have given the Land no Rest, nor any one Article it produces; nor have we been at any great Expence in Manure, in order to recruit what was annually exhausted.—Notwithstanding all which, the Soil is so far from being worn out, that, if the Labourers do their Duty, and earn their Hire, the Crop will still answer as richly as ever, and shall be as faithfully proportioned according to each Man's particular Deservings.

[*In this Place the Audience expressed a very singular Satisfaction.*]

Every Body knows, that if my Hands fall heavy on my Enemies, they are ever open to my Friends: And that if you lend your Shoulders to me, I have returned the Compliment with my Back to every one of you, who had Occasion for it.—In plain *English*, whoever has had the Misfortune of being hunted in the H——, for Abuse of Power, Breach of T——t, or any Species of Cor——n whatever,

whatever, has been sure to find in me an Advocate, a Protector, a Saviour, and a Deliverer.—Many among you owe your very S—ts, as well as the Appointments annexed to them, to my Grace and Favour: Those of many more of you totter underneath your Weight, and nothing but my Countenance and Authority can keep you in Possession: Many of you have I rescued out of the Phangs of the Laws, and qualified to set them at Defiance; and some of you I have made the Envy of your Fellow Subjects, who were before, and when I please, will again be their Scorn. —

[*It is remarkable not one Face appeared to be incens'd or abash'd at this Treatment.*]

Excuse my Bluntness,—this is no Season for Compliments; and it is fit we should understand one another to the Bottom.

For all these Reasons, I might spare myself the Trouble of reasoning you into a Conformity to my Will and Pleasure, and exact it as a Debt,—I can't say of Honour, but — but — you understand me—One good Turn deserves another—I might also call upon your Gratitude for a proper Return:—I might, I say, if Gratitude could be expected where Honour is not. ——— I will not therefore touch upon that Head:—It will be to as little Purpose as to draw Bills on the Insolvent; and shall confine myself to the Topic of Interest only: That's what you all understand, what you all revere, what you all follow. 'Tis then your
Interest

Interest, you know it is, to do as you are bid, to cast away all Scruples, to despise Censure, to rep—nt your P—y M—st—r, and avenge yourselves upon your C—--ry, whose Curses ever did and ever will pursue you, as those they esteem their worst Enemies.

And this Gentlemen may do, without giving the least Alarm to their Consciences, if they do but consider, that they sit by Purchase, not E——n; and whatever a Man has bought on one Hand, he has a Right to sell on the other.——In carrying your V—s to M—rk—t, therefore you literally rep—nt your Principals, who did the same, and by accepting your M--n--y, authorised you to make the best Bargain you could for yourselves.

Having premised thus much in general, you may expect, perhaps, that I should now descend to every Particular of your Charge; but this will be superfluous. He that is acquainted with the Business of any one S——n during my long A———n, is acquainted with all; and Affairs are not yet ripe enough to offer at any Thing new. For the Sake of *fresh Men*, I will, however, enlarge a little farther than would be strictly necessary; if, like their Brethren above, they had the Advantage of being lighted on their Way by those infallible Guides the Lanthorns of the C——ch.

To proceed, then; I have already hinted, that what is of prime Importance, is a close Attendance; and this I insist upon from all without

Re-

Reserve, from Day to Day, early and late, whether summoned or not, be the Business in Hand a Point of Consequence, or a Matter of Form: I know the Strength of both Parties is united against us, that their joint Attack will be furious, that it will be often repeated, and that neither Vigilance, Zeal, Perseverance, Wisdom, Courage, or Artifice, will be wanting to drive us out of the Field: And, for our Comfort, I likewise know, that if, in spite of all, they are defeated, were the great *Hampden* and *Pym* to rise from the Dead, they would scarce have Interest enough to induce them to make Head against us any more. I say therefore, first and last, *attend*, on Pain being cashiered without Mercy.

I am next to apprise you, that all Motions, Questions, &c. are reducible to two Classes: Those relating to the *Est-bl-sh-m-nt*, and those relating to the *C-n-t-t-n*: The first is the Citadel we are posted to defend; from thence we make our Excursions; there we treasure up our *FORAGE*, and there we lie snug and warm in our Winter-Quarters: Whenever, therefore, any Demand is made in Behalf of the said Citadel, either to strengthen the Fortifications, increase the Number of the Garrison, advance their Pay, lay the Country round about under Contribution, or to secure or enlarge the Power of the commanding Officer and his *Adjutant*; you are all, with one Voice, to roar out *AYE*, and persist in the said Affirmative,

mative, right or wrong, till you have trod all Opposition under Foot, and carried your Point in all its Forms.

On the other Hand, if the Enemy make their Approaches; if they threaten a Blockade, or prepare for a regular Siege: If they proceed by Sap, or place all their Hopes upon a Storm: To speak plainly, if they presume to contend that the said Citadel will be safest without Walls, and that, therefore, it ought to be dismantled: That the Garison is over-fed, over-paid, and of no Use but to plunder the circumjacent Provinces; that the commanding Officer is grown terrible, and his *Adjutant* ought to be hanged, you are then to remember, that No must be the universal Outcry, and that it becomes every Individual to be as tenacious of it, as a Virgin, who holds her Honour worth preserving.

I have mentioned the *C-n-t-t-n* as the contrary Class to that of the *Est-bl-sh-m-nt*, and consequently must be looked upon as the Headquarters of the Adversaries.---In all Points, therefore, wherein that is concerned, you are only to reserve your Conduct, and be as strenuous to oppose whatever tends to what is called Re——s of G——es, or Re——ef of the S——t, as you were before to defend the M——r, and disappoint every Attempt to circumscribe the Power of the C——.

There is likewise a *Foreign Concern*, which I must own I mention sore against my Will; but I have it so strictly in Command, that it
is

is as much as my Head is worth to disobey.
 ——— That *Foreign Concern*, I say, must
 be *naturalized*, and the dead Weight of it
 must rest upon your Shoulders, as well as
 mine. ——— G---d grant that we may not be
 overwhelmed beneath the Load!

[*This was followed by a general Groan,
 and another most pathetick Amen.*]

I need not enlarge any farther on these
 Heads. ——— Though I have spoken some-
 what figuratively, I believe Gentlemen are at
 no Loss to understand me.

Now there are some, though none among
 you I dare be sworn, who pretend to be so
 tender-conscienced forsooth, as to call this a
 C——cy against the C-nst-t-t-n. ——— But
 this gives me no Pain. — Self-Preservation is
 the first Law of Nature, and I ever did, and I
 ever shall pay it a most implicate Obedience.

—— I thank Heaven we have no Law to
 make such a C——cy H—— T—— n: Or,
 if we had, I know of no Advocate bold enough
 to plead the Issue against those who are at the
 Head of so many Legions. ——— There's our
 Comfort, Gentlemen, there's our Confidence.
 If we do c——re, we c——re with Au-
 thority at our Backs, with Power in our Hands;
 with the Purse, the Sword, the Law, the Go-
 spel, and all under their Influence, tied to our
 Interest, and wholly at our Devotion. When
 was there seen before a C——cy so formi-
 dable? Where can we find an Instance of such

a C——cy destroyed? — What have we then to apprehend? What shall hinder us from giving the finishing Stroke to a Work already so near Perfection? Nothing but our own groundless Fears, of imaginary Dangers, or as groundless Hopes that we shall be able to push our own particular Fortunes with more Success, by going over to the Enemy: Neither of which ridiculous Chimeras, I am perswaded, can find Entertainment in such Breasts as yours.

For my own Part, I don't know whether I most regard the Faction with Scorn or with Pity. When I consider how much they promise, and how little they perform, Scorn prevails; when I consider, on the contrary, how manifest their Danger, and how uncertain their Reward, I am as much absorb'd in Pity. We have the Advantage to be a regular Corps, thoroughly disciplined, prudently commanded, and punctually paid: Whereas they have the Honour only to be Volunteers, to bear their own Charges, and to be every Man his own Master: The Consequence of which has hitherto been, that no Body is authoris'd to reduce the Stragglers under his Standard to give the Word in the Day of Action, oblige every Individual to do his Duty, and set a Mark on such as incline towards Mutiny and Desertion.

I have, moreover, already observed, that if we c——re, we do it with Safety; whereas, if by repeated Disappointments driven to Dispair, they should tread one Step beyond the
Circle

Circle of the Laws, P—— becomes R——, and Beggary the Inheritance of their Posterity.

Let us then give them no longer Time to clog the Wheels of G———t, but employ all the Advantages we are now Masters of, to deprive them of their present last Resource; that Rage and Phrenzy may precipitate them into the Toils already set for them, and that we may reap the Merits of their Transgressions.

Some of them we know have suffered their Imaginations to wander over the *Alps*; and it is not impossible that their Hands should accompany their Hearts. If they should, as the Poet has it,

Havock, and Spoil, and Ruin are our Gain.

What I have farther to add, I shall utter occasionally in another Place, and, for the present, shall dismiss you with the usual Earnest of my good Intentions; in Confidence that you will not fail to make me the usual Returns.

[*At these Words, the whole Company formed a Lane; through which his H——r walking leisurely, touched every Man both to the Right and Left, somewhat after the Manner of a humorous Scene that is to be found in the Comedy of Pasquin: And that material Part of the Business of the Evening being over, the Assembly shouted forth, Vivat His H——r, and then broke up.*]

CERTAIN
IMPORTANT HINTS,

Deliver'd to an
Assembly of Independents, &c.

GENTLEMEN,

TH O' I have always thought it the Duty of every M—b—r to vote according to his own Sense of Things, uninfluenced by Prejudice, Party, Example, or Authority, I have always thought, likewise, that, when the Ax seem'd to be laid to be Root of the Consti—n, and Faction was on the Point of becoming Almighty, it was high Time for all honest Men to associate in Defence of themselves, their Posterity, and their Country, to form some regular Scheme on which to proceed, and, in consequence, to take no one Step, but what it was the joint Resolution of the whole Body to follow.

That such we are, and that such are the Views, the only Views of this Meeting, I hope we shall never give any just Cause to doubt: On the contrary, I persuade myself, that our
Actions

Actions will demonstrate to all *Europe* that the Word *Patriot* has a Meaning, as well as a Sound; and that it is our cordial Intentions to serve, I had like to have said save our Country.

We have been long reproached with fruitless Endeavours, and repeated Disappointments: I more than half conjecture that the Time is come, when those Reproaches will be heard no more. Tho' Reason, Equity, and Facts were always on our Side, we had never till now a Prospect of beating our Adversaries at their own Weapons, and deciding the Fate of a Question by Tale.

Thanks to the noble Efforts of the independent Part of our Fellow-Subjects, who were justly alarmed for the very Being of the Nation; and in spite of all the Influence of Power, and the Prevalence of Cor——n, we are enabled to meet our Adversaries on a Level at least; whence it is reasonable to conclude, that Integrity and Common Sense will, in the End, get the better of Sophistry and Guilt; and the good Genius of B—— again see herself in a Condition to exert her Power, and vindicate her Charge.

Of this the Faction are already aware, and look as if conscious that the Measure of their Iniquities was full, as if their Judgment-Day was at Hand. But, though humbled, though embarrassed, we must not yet conclude them fallen. The Junto we have to deal with, even in Ruins, are formidable. Remember a Man
of

of infinite Craft has the Direction of them, who sits in the Centre of his own Web, ever vigilant to extend his Snares, and ever busy in repairing whatever Out-Line is weaken'd with Service, or by Violence destroyed. Remember he has his Hand in every Man's Pocket in *G— B—*, and is, or thinks he is, Master of every Man's Sword. Remember on whose Shoulders he stands; and how difficult it is to prevail with Obstinacy and Self-Will, even to make Provision for their own Safety.

If we hope, therefore, to accomplish the great Ends we propose, it must be by other Measures than Drinking and Talking, Writing and Railing. As the Weight is enormous that we are to remove, our Industry, our Perseverance, our Endeavours must be suitable: When we have torn it from its Basis, when it trembles in *Æquilibrium*, and but one vigorous Effort more is wanting to overwhelm it in Ruins for ever: Should we, in that critical Moment, grow remiss, and slacken our Labours, our Attempt may not only become abortive, but the Few, who followed it to the last, may be crush'd under the Load they had not Strength to hinder from returning to its first Position.

It is easy to infer from hence, that we should not only be indefatigable but unanimous. A second Disunion, which is the only Hope of our Enemies, would give the finishing Blow to the very Hopes of these calamitous *K—ms*; their

their Ruin would then be sealed, and they might justly exclaim, *There is none to deliver.* I chuse rather to forget than reflect on what is past. But, if you have any Sense of the Grievances you complain of, if you have any Affection for your Country, whose Cause you have so solemnly espoused, relinquish all nominal Distinctions, make Concessions on each Side, in order to obtain a real Coalition: And if your Intentions are upright, contend only who shall venture most for the Redemption of the dear Land that gave you Birth: You are all Sufferers alike; you all groan under the same Yoke; hearken then to the Voice of Reason, and administer no more Food to Cavil, Debate, and Misunderstanding, till the common Enemy is subdued.

I have mentioned the Affection due to our Country. Give me leave to utter a few crude Thoughts, which occur to me *en passant* on that Subject. The Faction, insensible themselves of that great first Principle, on which all public Virtue is founded, shamelessly insist that no such Plant is to be found in our Soil; and in order to make their Assertion good, employ their Tools of all Sorts to root out every Seed as fast as it shoots forth. This they attempt, by representing all those who declare themselves to be actuated by public Spirit, as either a Sort of *Quixots*, or *Cromwells* in Politics; that is, to say, Knaves or Fools; by inculcating that all Men are in their Hearts
venal;

venal; and that even those who seem to be Exceptions to this Rule, who despise Riches, who refuse Employments, and who sacrifice their Ease, Health, Time, and Fortune to the Service of their Country, are governed by Ambition, by Resentment, by any thing but Principle.

In Justification of ourselves, therefore, for the Honour of the whole *B---b* Name, for the Sake of Mankind, we are obliged so to act as may confute these infamous Tenets; so as may countenance our Constituents for having fixed on us for their *R---s*; so as may render it the Glory of latest Posterity to follow our Example; and so as may leave on our Adversaries only the Reproach of their own detestable Conclusions.—The Hearts of other Men I leave in the Hands of their Maker.—But, as to my own, I feel it penetrated with Sorrow for any national Misfortune; I feel it glow with Zeal, if called upon to attend any public Duty; I feel it transported with Joy, when any noble Exploit exalts the Reputation of a *B---n*; I feel it overwhelmed with Confusion, when our Politics are baffled, or our Arms disgraced: And, from all these Sensations, I cannot help being positive that I love my Country.

I acknowledge these are Proofs which are convincing only to myself.—There let them rest, then.—When quiet at home (*laying his*

Hand

Hand on his Bosom) the great End of my Life is answered.

With your Pardon, Gentlemen, for this Digression, I now return to what I more immediately intended, to lay before you.

I have recommended Unanimity: What we have next to consider of is the most effectual Method to guard against what State-Jockies call P——t Craft, which, however seemingly inconsistent with the Character of a Rep——ve of the People, is an Engine, openly, avowedly, perpetually in Use; and has already more than once been of most pernicious Consequence to the Interest of the Nation.

Under this Head, I am persuaded, the Care of our contested E——ns cannot fail of challenging your first Attention; they are the Points that the Faction will exert their whole Force to carry, and they are the Points on which the Fate of all the rest, in a manner, depends. What has been obtained by Fraud and Violence, by the same Means, if practicable, would be supported; and we have innumerable Instances on Record, in which the free Choice of the People has been rendered vain by the Artifices and Influence of an allcor——ng M——r. Were I to say such Practices were never more to be apprehended than at present, who would rise up to contradict me? Were I to say that it never was of more Importance to this poor Nation, to defeat them, who could maintain the Negative?

Let

Let no Gentleman flatter himself, that when some particular Cases come to be display'd before us, the Facts will appear so notoriously a Violation of the Fundamentals of all Liberty, that the most abandoned Tool will blush to patronize, or acquit such infamous Proceedings. Be assured there is nothing so black but what will find Advocates in abundance, and however rotten the Member, it is Death to the F——n to have it lopt off. Consider, in Proportion to what they lose, we get; and if we are able to stand our Ground at the Opening, what may we not hope for before the Conclusion?

Here then let us begin Hostilities; and let the filling the Com—e-Ch——r be the first Blow. That you have pitched upon a Gentleman so every Way unexceptionable, pardon me that I use so cool an Expression, I should have said so every Way deserving, I look upon as the happiest of all Omens. I congratulate you upon your Choice; I congratulate that worthy Patriot upon the Honour he has received; and I congratulate the whole Nation on the Services they may expect from his equal, moderate, and disinterested Behaviour.

We are next to cast our Eyes on the S—e of the N——n; a most afflicting, a most astonishing Prospect! Not many Years ago, we were the Envy, the Terror, and the Admiration of the foremost Nations of *Europe*; at present

present we are become the Pity, the Contempt, and Scorn of the Meanest: At Home, impoverished, embarrassed, and divided; Abroad, mistrusted, cajoled, menaced, abandoned, and betrayed; in Peace without Protection, in Arms without Success: And, though still able to face all Opposers, though put to the full Expence of the most vigorous Measures, our Swords padlocked, and our Hands tied by a For—n Concern, which, by express Stipulation, we have nothing to do with, and which has already cost us, all Articles considered, as much again as it is worth.

This is a Brief of our melancholy Case.— But I must beg your Patience while I expatiate on the Particulars which have been so long complained of, and which are now or never to be redressed: And herein I will not follow what has been already writ or said on the like Review, but take my Picture from the Life, leaving it to you and the whole World to judge of the Likeness.

It has ever been the first Article of my political Creed, That the Wealth, Strength, and Importance of this Nation were founded on our Commerce; which, for many Years past, has been no otherwise considered than as it could be made serviceable to the Revenue: It is no Wonder, therefore, to hear re-iterated Complaints, from every Port in G—— B——, that its present Circumstances are deplorable, nay almost desperate: That the *Dutch* have

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run away with our Freight : That the *French* have deprived us of some Markets, and rivalled us in all : That many Kinds of Goods are daily imported to the Prejudice of our own Manufactures : That this Mischief is, in a Manner, doubled by the Encouragement given by Drawbacks, &c. to the Re-exportation of great Quantities of the said Goods to the Plantations : That all our Importations from *France* in particular, which form a considerable Article in every Bill of Entry, are paid for, either in ready Money or WOOL : That the Running of the last, a Practice which has been so long complained of, and which still continues to be connived at, is alone sufficient to beggar half the Kingdom : That many valuable Branches of Traffic have sunk under the Weight of Monopolies : That the Plantations, which are become almost the only Support of our Navigation, are given for a Prey into the Hands of one Man, who divides and subdivides the Spoil, according to his own good Pleasure : And that the Interest of these inestimable Appendages is so far from being encouraged, that it seems to be scarce known ; or, if known, to be totally neglected, or purposely discountenanced and impugn'd.

To all which let me add, from what we ourselves have observed, that there seems to have been a Conspiracy among certain Persons against the whole trading Interest ; such a Scorn has been manifested for their Persons, such a
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Contempt for their Complaints and Remonstrances ; such Measures have apparently been taken to distress them, and such a malignant Joy has been expressed, whenever those Measures, as they seldom failed, have been attended with the desired Success.

From the State of our Commerce, I pass to that of our Manufactures : And here opens a Scene which would almost move the Mill-stone-Heart of a Tyrant to Compassion. Labour is at an End : Industry starves. The Towns that swarmed with useful Mechanics, are now peopled with Beggars. In the Cloathing Countries of the West, only, no less than twenty seven Thousand, according to the best Computation, are either already, or soon will be out of Employ ; with scarce a Possibility of Relief : The Work-houses, over-flowing, the Parish-Rates, amounting from seven to ten Shillings in the Pound, and both Generosity and Charity wearied out ; nay, Ability itself exhausted.

'Tis obvious to Common Sense, that when the Merchant encounters such Difficulties, and the Manufacturer groans under such Distresses, the Shop-keeper must share in the general Calamity : Accordingly, it appears from the most curious Enquiries, and most exact Information, that those in the Country have neither Demands on their Stock, nor can call in their Cash ; of Course are obliged to stretch their own Credit with, and put a Stop to all farther Orders on those in Town. — Hence a general

ral Stagnation both of Business and Money begins to be felt and complained of even in this Capital. Hence many Persons are endeavouring to draw their Effects out of a sinking Vessel. — Hence some Rents fall, others are ill-paid, and whole Streets seem to be on the Verge of becoming destitute of Inhabitants.

This naturally leads us to our own Case; which needs but little Explanation, and is the same with that of most Landlords in *England*. Few Gentlemen care to explain their private Difficulties, tho' none can be insensible of them. For my own Part, I frankly declare, my Tenants are so little able to make good their Agreements, that I can scarce prevail upon myself to urge them to it; and yet, at the same Time, though not the worst Oeconomist in the World, 'tis not in my Power to excuse them.

This, Gentlemen, is a Sketch of the forlorn, but true State of this unhappy Community: The Result of a growing Poverty, which, if not checked in its Progress, now, while Time is, will soon become universal; and, instead of an Affluence which seemed to have no Bound, will present us with a dire Reverse of Ruins without End.

We have been charged, as before observed, with being actuated with a Spirit of Ambition; as labouring not to establish but to overturn; as seeking our own private Interests, not that of the Public. To confute these Calumnies, we must so act as every Individual, if possible, may

may feel himself interested in our Endeavours, and actually become a Gainer by the Event.

We all know that Government was first instituted, and submitted to, for the Sake of the Governed: That the Interest of those entrusted with the executive Power, though believed to be inwove with that of the Commonwealth, was ever looked upon and treated as subordinate to it. But we have lived to see these Maxims change Hands; we have lived to see the Last usurp the Place of the First; and the first to be in a Manner kicked out of Doors. Hence P——ts have been called, and have sat S——n after S——n, only to make good the Demands, and sanctify the Oppressions of M——rs; and then have been dismissed, as if the Redress of Grievances, the Care of our Manners, and the Increase of publick Happiness were no Part of their Commission.

This leads us to the Root of our present Evils: On one Hand, the most notorious Neglects, to say no worse: On the other, the most unjustifiable Exactions.—Some Particulars relating to the First have been already touched upon; and, if I should divide the growing Poverty so long complained of, and place, at least, one Half to the Account of the Last, need I make use of any Arguments to prove a Truth that is self-evident?

Yes, Gentlemen, the present enormous Charge of G———t is a Grievance of the first Magnitude; and what demands immediate
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Redress, as including in it innumerable others, which all contribute more or less to fill the Measure of our Calamities.—Give me leave to throw some Light upon this Affair, from the Transactions of former Times.

Even in the obnoxious Reign of *James* the Second, the whole Amount of the Revenues was no more than 1,855,436 *l.* 14 *s.* 9 *d.* Halfpeny; which, at the Time of the Revolution, was encumbered with a Debt of 1,054,925 *l.* 5 *s.*—And in the first Year of our *Deliverer*, the old Establishment of 1,200,000 *l.* was voted sufficient for the Support of the Crown in Time of Peace. But *Ireland* being then to be reduced, and *France* to be humbled, extraordinary Supplies were demanded, and granted, to the Amount of four, five, and six Millions annually, which were levied at such an extravagant Interest, and by such pernicious and delusive Projects, that when the two Kingdoms were united, *England* was already in Debt 17,762,842 *l.* 17 *s.* 3 *d.* Halfpeny, though *Scotland* but one Year's Revenue, which then stood at 160,000 *l.* *Sterling*.

The asking and bestowing Millions annually, and the Consideration of an immense, national Debt, were now become so familiar to us, that we were scarce terrified when it appeared, in 1716, that the latter amounted to no less than 51,000,000 *l.* all Items included.

The Rebellion being happily defeated, a profound Tranquillity ensued, and it was natural

ral to suppose, that even Pretences would then be wanting for any longer continuing such Impositions, as were inconceivable to our Fathers, and will appear incredible to our Children. But nothing is impossible to Men of Genius; and such were found, who had first the Address, to persuade us that all our Taxes ought to continue as they were, till the national Debt was paid off; and then the Front, when all other Expedients failed, to invade the sacred, unalienable Funds, as they were for sometime called, devoted so religiously by themselves as well as the public, to the Discharge of the said Debt; which, from that Period, were almost swallowed up under the specious Pretence of providing for the Service of the current Year: Whence, even according to the Accounts made up by the Managers own Directions, the Demands upon the Nation, *December 31, 1740*, still amounted to forty five Millions, nine hundred forty five Thousand, nine hundred and forty six Pounds, odd Shillings and Pence; so that, in the Space of twenty four Years, the greatest Part of which we were at Peace with all the World, not much above five Millions were, upon the Whole, discharged.

Gentlemen have long observed, that, during this perplexed and encumber'd Interval, Ways and Means have become the favourite Point of Government, which has been most curiously pry'd into, and most industriously pursued. That whoever was Master of the Clue to that intricate

cate Maze the Funds, or was Clerk enough to decypher the whole Art and Mystery of national Book-keeping, had the Credit of being thought the greatest consummate Politician in G—— B——, and therefore fittest to be trusted with the Vicegerency of all Things: That even every little Tool, who made a Part of a M——r's Equipage in this dirty Road, had the Knack of Bird-liming his Fingers, in order to put in for a Fellow-feeling; and, by H—sh—M—ey, or other Indulgencies, become certain of making his Fortune: That, in fine, all Power was made to center here. That all imaginable Artifices have been used both to continue and enlarge that Power, with such Success, that a new System has actually obtained, which has hitherto been able to support itself against the joint Endeavours of the whole People to destroy it, and which, in all Appearance, threatens the C——n itself.

To enumerate all the Proofs which might be urged in Support of this last Insinuation would be to give a Detail of all the material Points our Adversaries have carried or defeated from the Time of that bold Stroke, which extended the Duration of P——s from three to seven Years, till now. For all the Points they have carried in that Interval, have been either in Aid of the Revenue, to multiply penal Laws, enlarge the Power and Influence of the Crown, or to procure a Sanction for the most absurd or most criminal Proceedings. And all they

they have defeated, have been such as tended to enquire into past Misconduct, adjust the public Accounts, husband the publick Treasure, retrieve the publick Greatness and Glory, and make notorious Offenders a public Example.

So weak has the C——n proved in its own Defence, and so irresistible hitherto, the Efforts of the Enemy to compleat its Undoing!

Of what Parts this System is composed, how those Parrs are linked together, and after what Manner they correspond, so as to act uniformly and consistently together, need not be explained. Though we have not as yet been permitted to examine all the secret Principles upon which it acts; the Inside may be known by the Surface, and from thence no Manner of Doubt can remain, but that it is high Time to break it in Pieces.

No Body supposes that G——t can be supported without Expence; what therefore the public Wants render necessary, must be chearfully supplied. Without Ability to do Good, no G——t can be useful; with Ability to do Hurt, no G——t ought to be trusted. —Had the mighty Demands, made annually on this almost exhausted Country, been warranted by apparent Exigences, and balanced by apparent Services, not only not one among us, but I verily believe not one among a Million without Doors, would have objected

his own private Difficulties, in Bar of what was levied for his Share.

But, however willing we may be to contribute to real Wants, or to pay for real Advantages, 'tis not to be imagined, that when the Nation visibly wastes away in a Consumption, it could submit to, or support perpetual Evacuations without the Comfort of one Restorative.

'Tis beyond all Controversy, Gentlemen, that if, on the one Hand, all the Resources of national Wealth, arising from Industry, Trade, and Navigation, become every Day more and more precarious; and, on the other, that the Taxes admit of no proportionable Diminution, but continue to sluice off the same Sums as were exacted when the current Cash of the Kingdom was at High-water Mark. I say, 'tis beyond all Controversy, that our Specie will, in the End, be absorbed in the bottomless Gulph of Customs, Excises, &c. And one Half of the Nation must become Slaves, that the other may be Lords.

I have stated this melancholy Period, as yet at a Distance: But perhaps you will say it is at Hand, or that it now is. Perhaps you will even cast your Eyes back, and say it took Place long ago. Perhaps you tell me that for Numbers of Years together, there is not one Precedent of any Demand from the M----- refused, but many of our being so excessively complaisant as to bid him take our Purse and
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please himself. You will tell me, perhaps,
 that his Tools and Dependents are the Tribe
 of *Gad*, a Troop, authorized to live almost
 at Discretion: And that we are the Tribe of
Issachar, typified by the Asis couching down
 between two Burdens. You will tell me of
 Stipends paid to foreign Princes, for the Hire
 of Forces, that we never did, nor could have
 Occasion to use; of conditional and uncondi-
 tional Grants made to the C—L—, with a
 Profusion beyond Example; of Raree-Show
 Squadrons, known to be fitted out for no o-
 ther End but to amuse an injured exasperated
 People; of an artful Ally's being prevailed
 upon, *God* only knows for what Consideration,
 to eke out the Parade; and, since Hostilities
 have actually subsisted, refusing to strengthen
 us with a single Ship. Of other Squadrons
 sent to rot in pestilential Climates in Sight of
 the Prey they were forbid to touch. Of yet
 other Squadrons, employed to assist our most
 inveterate Enemies, against our fastest Friends:
 And again, to protect the richest of our Allies,
 against our said inveterate Enemies, without
 Fee or Reward. Of a Medley of Treaties, all
 opposite to, and inconsistent with each other.
 Of Losses sustained, and Affronts endured for
 many Years with Impunity; and followed by
 a Conven—n that will sink in the Nose of
 every true *Br—n* to all Eternity. Of a
 W— entered into at the Instance of the whole
 Nation, and yet so managed, as to become a
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 every true *Br—n* to all Eternity. Of a
 W— entered into at the Instance of the whole
 Nation, and yet so managed, as to become a
 greater

greater Curse than the long Series of Injuries it was calculated to redress. Of new Levies being sent on the most desperate Service, while our Veterans died the Martyrs of their own Luxuries at Home. Of fifty thousand military Men maintained at an immoderate Charge, to feed on the Vitals of their Country, without once drawing a Sword against the Enemy : Of another Army of P—m—n, yet more costly, dangerous and destructive than the last, because qualified to give a Sanction to, and absolve each others Crimes. Of an H——. Ap——nt, exposed first to a long Series of Neglects and Indignities ; betrayed, misrepresented, and, at last, compell'd to sollicite the Interposition of the Public, even to make good the Wants of his Household. Of *Dunkirk's* being repaired in Defiance of the most solemn Treaties. Of our not only looking tamely on, while the House of *Austria* was undone ; but while *France*, our natural Enemy, enlarged her Trade, Power, Wealth, and Dominion on every Side : Of a great and mighty Nation, always the Rival of that insidious Power, and more than once the Arbitress of her Fate, still guarded with potent Armies, and invincible Fleets ; and yet so situated as to have no Use of neither, but obliged to bear all Indignities, not only without Resentment, but almost to acknowledge them as Favours. Of the said great and mighty Nation's being made the Pack-Horse, Post-Horse, Sumpter-Horse, of a remote,

remote tributary P——ce; and bridled, saddled, whipped, spurred, and loaded at the Discretion of the Rider: Though disdaing the Drudgery, though ashamed of the Disgrace, and though, by exprefs Stipulation, as before observ'd, exempted from all Suit and Service whatever. And lastly, of ONE MAN, who has made himself the infernal Instrument of rendering his Mother-Country this hackney'd Beast of Burden, to obtain Impunity for his own unparallel'd Transgressions.

I say, Gentlemen, you will perhaps put me in Mind of these and many more affecting Particulars, all so pernicious to the Commonwealth, as scarce to admit of Aggravation, in order to convince me that the evil Day is already come, and that our immediate Business is not so much to prevent as to deliver.

Would to God I had Authority from Truth and Fact to think otherwise! Would to God the all-afflicting Visitation had not spread so far! Would to God that our Case was not so desperate, and that gentler Remedies would effect a Cure!

But as these are vain and idle Wishes; as that ONE MAN, who has so long undermined the C———n, is now ready to set Fire to his Train, and blow up all Obstructions; 'Tis better that *that ONE MAN should die, than a whole Nation should perish*. To take the Trust of our Commerce out of the wretched Hands in which it has been so long deposited, to furnish

furnish the starving Manufacturer with Bread.—To do Justice to the H—r Ap—nt, and enable him to live, not only agreeable to his high Rank, but the Dictates of his own generous Heart.—To cut away those pernicious Suckers that encumber the Growth, and drain the vital Sap, which should give Strength and Vigour to the Fruits of Government, and to ease the People in general of that Load they are no longer able to bear, is doing our Business but by Halves.

Justice, so long offended, so often disappointed, must at length have her Due: The public Guilt cannot be expiated without a public Sacrifice; and that ONE MAN, who has been the Author of all our Evils, must be the Victim.

Convinced as we are, that the Power of the K— and K——m has been lodged in his Hands, who but he can be accountable for the Abuse of it? And, separated from his Herd, disarmed of his Terrors, and deprived of his Support, as, upon exerting ourselves as we ought, I think he cannot fail to be; neither Times, Circumstances, Facts, nor Evidence of any Kind, can long be wanting to prove his Life a legal Forfeit.

It is said in Holy Writ, *Mine Eye shall not pity, neither shall my Hand spare.* Let our Conduct be suitable to that sublime Authority. As Men, we may commiserate the Frailties and Misfortunes of our Fellow-Creatures, but as

. L——rs,

L——rs, we are to harden our Hearts against every relenting Thought, we are to act as the Avengers of the Public, and to leave upon Record such a Memorial of our Inflexibility, as may deter all M——rs from accumulating the like Guilt, if they would avoid the like Punishment.

In order to which, we must not, weakly and effeminately, dwell on the Image of an almost omnipotent M——-r, falling from the Zenith of all wordly Greatness, and struggling with the united Resentments of a whole People; but an over-grown *Colossus* of Power, rapaciously, or fraudulently amassing together the Growth of the Soil, the Sweat of the Labourer, the Art of the Mechanic, the Peril of the Mariner, and the Profit of the Merchant; and fervilely, wantonly, or corruptly dividing the Spoil, among Parasites, Whisperers, Informers, Projectors, and every other Species of Tools and Slaves; not to mention the enormous Waste of his own Prodigalities.

In this Light consider him, with his Foot on the Neck of the Co——-w——th, and then ask to whom Compassion is due? The dear, dear Land that gave you Birth, or the Monster that not only meditates, but has almost accomplished its Ruin?

Neither, when we have made this Offering to Justice, is our Task at an End. If I may be allowed to borrow Images from Antiquity,
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to tarce *Cacus* to his Den, and destroy him there, was one of the Toils of *Hercules*; and to cleanse the *Augean* Stable another: To purify this Realm from Corruption, is an Attempt of the same Kind with the last. Let us set about it in earnest then! Let us set about it without Delay! That the People may once more hope; that they may have the Consolation of seeing the long-promised Year of Jubilee at Hand.

To accomplish this, let all the public Offices relating to, or depending on the Revenues, undergo a thorough Inspection: Let such as appear superfluous be lopped off from the Establishment without Mercy. Let all Sine-Cures, whether by Patent, or otherwise, undergo the same Fate. In all Places where Deputies do the Duty for the Fees, and the Principals receive the entire Salary for the sole Trouble of writing their Names, let the said Deputies be made the Principals; and let those quondam Principals be considered as Drones, and driven out of the Hive.

Let those Juntos of Men, stiled Commissioners of all Sorts, be reduced, where it is possible, to one, two, or three at most, and put under such Limitations as shall oblige them to be indeed the Servants of the Public, and not the Tool of a *Briarean* M——r.

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Let every Office of every Kind be restored to its Original Independency, and the Superiors of each enjoy the Power as well as the Right of filling up all Vacancies.

Let the Army, which, for so many Years, has been a Sanctuary to the Idle, the Dissolute, and the Worthless, which has cost the Nation such enormous Sums, which has served only to set forth ridiculous Reviews, and pacify the Fears of a hated R——cy. Let that useless, burthenfome obnoxious Army be either honourably employed, or forthwith discharged.

Let the Navy be put under such Regulations, that neither Ships of Force, or Cruizers, or Stores of any Kind, or an Establishment of Mariners, may ever be wanting, either to protect our Trade, cover our own Coasts, or insult those of the Enemy.

Let those Gentlemen who are most versed in Business, take the national Debt into their serious Consideration, and digest into a Scheme the most probable Means of, effectually, though gradually, delivering the People from that almost insupportable Load: But then let them proceed on such Principles, as may enable us to bestow some Relief on the present Age, as well as those to come: In particular, in easing the Taxes laid on the Necessaries of Life, such as Coals, Candles, Soap, Salt, Leather, &c. which not only distress both Vender and Consumer, but render Labour dear, and consequent-

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ly put it into the Power of other Nations to steal away our Commerce.

Let proper Measures be taken to open a Market for our WOOL at Home, that the Grower may ly under no Temptation to export it, and that we may again thrive on the Industry of the Poor, as well as the Product of our Soil.

Let two or more Auditors or Inspectors be appointed, by Authority of P———t, and accountable to P———t only, to examine the public Accounts annually ; and, at the Opening of every S——n give in a regular, circumstantiate State thereof ; together with a clear, well-digested Abstract of each, shewing the Receipts, Issues, Deficiencies, Surpluses, Charges, and Encumbrances ; that it may no more be in the Power of any future M———r to bubble the Nation for Want of proper Lights, and, at the same Time, skreen his own Conduct from Detection and Punishment : And that every Man in G—— B——, who contributes to the Expence of G———t, may have Demonstration that he is taxed no more than is strictly necessary ; and that not a Farthing is diverted from the Purposes for which it was granted.

Let one H——se, at least, be set free from the Imputation of being made up of, or tainted with the Fellowship of C——t Mercenaries : And, in order thereto, let us once more
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use our utmost Efforts to carry that virtuous self-denying Point, which we have so often and so vainly struggled for.

The Management of the W—, which, to every common Eye, presents such a Complication of Blunders, Delays, Disappointments, and Misfortunes, let us examine with the utmost Rigour, that we may know, of a Certainty, whether, as suspected, it was meant for a Tragi-Comedy, to which the S—p—d Expedition served as a Prologue; whether the E——y was p--rp--ly spared, the Merchant p--rp--ly exposed, and the Nation p--rp--ly cheated of the Vengeance it had so long demanded, and so ardently expected: Or whether a criminal Tendernefs for any f--r—n Contingency, which has already devoured Millions in Stipends to those Princes, who fatten on the Blood of their Subjects, has induced, or obliged those at the Helm to give up the Interest, Power, Wealth, and Honour of their C——y, as the infamous Ransom of those from whom we never did, nor ever can reap the least Advantage. And if, upon Enquiry, any Ground or Shadow for the least Suspicion should appear, let us recur to the original Agreement; let us boldly, though dutifully, set forth the manifold Infractions of it, and insist upon such an additional Security, as shall for ever deliver us from the like Violations.

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We cannot, tis true, nor do we desire to wrest the Direction of foreign Affairs out of the Hands of the ——— But so vague, so confused, so fluctuating, so contradictory, so detrimental, have proved our late N-g——ns at every Court in *Europe*, that it is high Time they should be formed into some certain System, which might either restrain a rash or ignorant M——r from breaking the Bounds prescribed him by the Wisdom of his Country, or render him answerable for the Trespass, if he did.— This we have both a Right and a Power to do in a Remonstrance, though we ought not, perhaps, to attempt it in a Law: And that nothing is more reasonable or necessary, appears from the Letters of the excellent Sir *William Temple*, who lamented the Want of some such System long ago.

Even the Constitution itself, Gentlemen, applauded as it is, may have received certain Shocks and Injuries, which it may be high Time to repair. Let us then begin with the Basis, and inspect every Crack and Flaw to the very Roof: Whatever Age and Custom have rendered venerable, let us preserve: Whatever is weak and crazy, let us strengthen and support: Whatever is over-loaded and top-heavy, let us lighten and relieve: Whatever is a Terror or a Nuisance, let us remove! Ever remembering, that 'tis founded on the Rock of natural Right; that it is cemented with the richest Blood of our noblest Forefathers; that it is
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fortified with *Magna Charta*, Numbers of Times renewed and confirmed; and that it was meant to be rendered impregnable by the *Revolution*, and the Act of *Settlement* which followed it!

Gentlemen, in the general, I have hitherto addressed myself to you on such Principles and Conclusions, as are of most Importance, according to the Systems of modern Politicians; viz. such as tend only to relieve, or promote national Interest, under the two great Heads of Wealth and Power.

But I am far from advising you to stop here. No, as well as a growing Poverty, there is a growing Licentiousness of Manners reigning among us. Arts and Sciences, though perhaps on the Decline, are not yet in Disgrace; but alas! I greatly fear that Virtue is. Youth itself seems to be scarce innocent; and in Age how seldom do we find a stench Integrity? Fashion has rendered it ridiculous even in the Fair to blush; and from habitual Vices, but too many of our Sex, find it almost impossible. The Instances which occur daily, of the most sacred Considerations set to publick Sale, and publicly justified, have helped to propagate an universal Venality through the Kingdom. If a Price may be set on our Votes, our Consciences, our Country, and our Religion, what is it that Gold is not authorised to buy? Or
who

who may not glory in having sold his Word, his Child, his Friend, or his Wife?

With regard to Ostentation, Riot, Luxury, and Debauchery of all Kinds, they have deluged the whole Land. We have learned to reckon our Pleasures only by our Vices, and Men are more out of Countenance now, at any Reserve of Moderation and Goodness, than formerly in being detected in any criminal Excess. Even the undone Spendthrift and blasted Bankrupt regrette their ruined Fortunes, only as they are thereby disabled from mingling any longer in the Prodigalities of the Times.

As well, therefore, as to the Encroachments of arbitrary Power, let us oppose ourselves as an unsurmountable Dam to this impetuous Torrent which gathers Strength every Hour, and threatens to bear down all before it. Let us begin this noble Task with ourselves. Let us set Examples of Innocence, of Justice, of Benevolence, and of every Virtue! Let the Surplus of our Fortunes be so disposed of as may serve to improve the public Taste, so as may encourage Industry, reward Ingenuity, and make Expence itself meritorious: So as may recover the Reputation of Wealth for Ages branded as the Root of all Evil; and so as may demonstrate that the 'most refined and delicate Pleasures are those only worth pursuing or enjoying.

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Having thus far deviated from the common Track, allow me to trespass yet a little farther; allow me to quit the frozen, unanimated Manner of thinking and speaking, which the false Decorum of these effeminate Times has, hitherto, obliged us to preserve.—

The Honour of a Nation, in my Eye, Gentlemen, appears to be not a Chimera, but a Reality; not an Idol, but a Divinity.

I cannot read the glorious Struggle of the Barons with their Kings, for the Preservation and Security of their *Birth-Rights*: I cannot follow the Two great *Edwards*, Father and Son, through their Battles and Triumphs: I cannot meditate on the mighty Designs and unparallel'd Successes of the Fifth *Henry*: I cannot pass over the Magnanimity of that matchless Woman Queen *Elizabeth*: I cannot review that Constellation of Heroes which appeared on the Side of Liberty during the great Civil War: I cannot recollect the Action of *Blake's*, or the Saying of *Cromwel's* on the Dignity of and Respect due to the *English* Name: I cannot wait on those noble State-Martyrs, *Russel* and *Sidney*, to the Scaffold: I cannot trace the Progress of the last Revolution, nor enumerate the annual Victories that have rendered the Name of *Marlborough* immortal: I cannot, I say, revolve this noble Succession of grand Events and illustrious Characters, without a Transport which I know not how to express,

press, without having the venerable Idea of *English* Honour for ever before me; without exulting that it had once a Being; nor when I regard the melancholy Sequel, without the most afflicting Apprehensions, that it is now no more!—that it is now no more!

Oh Gentlemen!—how dreadful is the Condition of that People who have scarce any Liberty to defend, or Honour to lose? God forbid it should be ours! But if these Apprehensions of mine are groundless, if I sound the Alarm before Danger is in Sight, let some one of more Penetration rise up, and point out what Acquisitions we have made, what Trophies we have raised, what Improvements we have added to the rich Legacy bequeathed us by our Ancestors? We are, at least we are told we are, in a State of Action, when Opportunities are never wanting to Men of Enterprize: We are as powerful as ever, both by Sea and Land; our Soldiers and Seamen, are, in all Appearance, animated with as much Courage and Resolution as the bravest of their Predecessors: And yet, with our Swords drawn in our Hands, we seem to slumber over all these Advantages, which serve only to exalt the Triumph of our Enemies, and aggravate our own Disgrace.

One Man indeed stands forth like our Guardian Angel, to convince the World, that the Nation itself is not in Fault, and that, if those
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Advantages were at his Disposal, and the Power was in his Hand, the present Times would have their Heroes to boast of as well as the past; the *British* Genius would be crowned with fresh Laurels, and the whole World of Waters be taught to confess and obey its Sovereign.

But this one Man, this brave, this vigilant, this indefatigable Man, has the Curse of being circumscribed in all his Motions, of being ill-supplied, ill-seconded, and often traversed in his noblest Efforts to serve his Country, and augment his own Glory; insomuch that he now appears to be little better than the Commadore of a Fleet of Tenders, freighted with military Stores and Provisions; the one to be consumed in Waste, and the other, perhaps, not to be consumed at all.

That national Honour, then, so deservedly extolled, so pathetically deplored, is in the Wane at least, if not, in a Manner, extinguished, and requires our instant, earnest, and unwearied Endeavours, to restore it to its antient Lustre.

Nor do I know a more effectual Way to compass this great End, than by addressing the T——, that this Hero of ours, since now no longer serviceable in his militray Capacity, may be restored to his Country, as a Representative, according to his own repeated Desire: In that Station, his active Spirit cannot be cramped by limited Orders; his Concern for our depart-

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ing Honour cannot be suppressed, nor his Zeal for its Recovery controll'd. What we have learned from common Fame, what has escaped even in the Accounts published by Authority, what he has hinted in his plaintive Letters, will then be explained at large by his own Patriot Voice: By whose assassinating Hand our lamented Honour was laid in the Dust, will then be known; nor will it then be possible for the detected Parricide any longer to evade the avenging Hand of Justice.

Let me retract, therefore, those gloomy Apprehensions, I before perhaps too hastily expressed! When we can obtain Justice, the Wounds our Honour has received will soon close, will soon be healed, and scarce the Scars remain to embitter Remembrance.

The Histories of all Nations resemble *March* and *April-Weather*, and are made up of Storms and Calms, Showers and Sunshine. Perhaps our tempestuous Season has already spent its Fury, and we are on the Eve of a golden Period, that may vie with the brightest in Story; or if the Clouds, that still surround us, threaten to fully the Prospect yet a little longer, the Land will be more refreshed by it in the End; the Sun of Honour will shine out clearer over Head, and Liberty take the deeper Root below.

In Confidence of which, let us address ourselves to the noble Task before proposed, with the Ardour, Resolution, and Perseverance of
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Men who are determined both to deserve and command Success. Should one of the fair and helpless Sex, with an insatiable Leech fasten'd at every Pore, draining away the last Remains of Life, lift up her dying Eyes to supplicate Pity and Relief, who would not fly to her Assistance? Let us think of ——— in the same Light, as beset with the like Vermin, as reduced to the like Extremity, and beseeching the like Deliverance.

And if, which I believe impossible, our Hearts are grown so callous, as to stand in need of yet stronger Incentives, look up to that illustrious P——, who, disdaining all private Considerations, rejecting all seducing Offers, insensible of all private Distresses, embarks his All in the Cause of the Commonwealth; imploring, that, according to his Integrity, He and his may prosper, and take Fire at the matchless Example!

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And if, which I believe impossible, our
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veto Considerations, regarding all reasoning
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P. A. W. I. & C.

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